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The
Freedom of the Seas

By
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Justice of the Supreme Court
State of New York



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INTRODUCTION

IF I were a man of riches, I would put this pamphlet in the hands of every man and every woman in our America.

The author is one of the ablest among the Justices of the Supreme Court of New York. He is a man of culture, a man who has read much, observed much, and thought more. All the ore he has dug from the mines of literature, of science, of philosophy, of history, he has passed through the crucible of his own meditation and weighed in the balances of his own judgment. Both on the bench and in his study, Justice Daniel F. Cohalan is an honest man.

The facts and the forecasts which he has set forth in these printed pages that follow should be taken to heart by every American, by every friend of human freedom, by every man who truly desires to set his feet in the path that leads to the shrine of the whole world's liberty.

This little work is one of the torches that light the way to that shrine, uplifted here and there by wise and brave men, who love the great family of mankind to which we all belong.

—PHILIP FRANCIS.

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The Freedom of the Seas

By Hon. Daniel F. Cohalan, Justice Supreme Court,
New York

The position of England as the dominant world power was made secure for some generations to come, in the opinion of the English diplomats, when their demand that the freedom of the seas should not be brought up for the consideration of the Peace Conference, was assented to by the representatives of the United States.

Astute, experienced, trained men, skilled in diplomacy, they secured for themselves before the Conference even met, that which was of the greatest value to them. They left for its consideration, only questions that, while of the utmost importance to the individual nations and peoples, counted practically for nothing, so far as the control of the world was concerned. They were confronted on the part of America by men with small knowledge of world affairs and who had little or no experience in dealing with trained diplomats.

The representatives of the British Empire were secure;—were certain of their position of dominance from the outset, and could afford to look with great complacency upon the Conference, governed, so far as they were concerned, by conditions which made it impossible for them to lose.

They realized—because the subject had been studied by their predecessors for generations; and they had the advantage of all the accumulated knowledge thus acquired;—they knew that the nation that controlled the seas would control the world. Hence, when—as may be believed to their utter astonishment—they succeeded, by a slight show of insistence on their part, in having the representatives of the other countries, in the majority at the Peace Conference, agree to their proposition that the freedom of the seas might not be discussed there, they secured, as they believed, the very thing they had accused Germany of struggling for in the war—namely the practical control of the world.

How adroitly and easily and yet how thoroughly this was done is evidenced by the testimony of Premier Clemenceau as reported in his speech on September 25th last in the Chamber of Deputies in his reference to Great Britain and the freedom of the seas.

"As regards the freedom of the seas, England has no need to demand it of any one. She already has it, and there are none to dispute it. I have already told you in this very place, and you applauded me, how I related to President Wilson a conversation I had with Premier Lloyd George on this subject:

"Lloyd George said to me: 'Do you recognize that without the British fleet we would have been unable to continue the war?'"

"I replied: 'Yes.'"

"Then Lloyd George said: 'Are you disposed to prevent us, should the case arise, from doing the same thing again?'"

"I replied: 'No.'"

"I reported this conversation to Mr. Wilson and he was not at all troubled by it. Mr. Wilson said: 'I have nothing to ask of you which could displease or embarrass either of you.'"

SEA CONTROL IS WORLD CONTROL

It has become a truism, as Admiral Mahan and other naval writers have proved time after time, that any nation that can control the seas can dominate the world. These writers have proved it from the experience of history and one will need only to glance casually at the story of the nations that led civilization for centuries past, in order to see how completely true is this fact.

Spain more than three hundred years ago,—when she was in the height of her glory and power; when she ruled Europe,—swept the seas with her ships. It was not until the fleets, the privateers and buccaneers of England broke the Spanish sea power that the English were able to emerge from their Island home and dominate the people they reckoned with beyond the confines of their damp and foggy Island in the North Atlantic.

Holland was commercially the first power in Europe when Von Tromp with the broom bound to the mast head, swept the shores of England, looking for some English fleet which would stand and fight against the Dutch.

Three-fourths of the surface of the earth are covered by the oceans, and it has been through the control of the seas, more or less strongly held during the last three centuries, that the British Empire has grown from its small beginning to its present alarming size, when the King of England rules every third person on earth and almost every third square mile of land as well as all of the oceans of the earth.

That any nation should possess such power is not alone without precedent, but it is a menace to the liberty of all the other peoples of the earth. Tyranny through all the ages of history, has been the necessary consequence of the possession of arbitrary power. While philosophic writers set forth at great length many reasons for asserting that benevolent despotism is the ideal form of government, the hard fact remains in the experience of mankind, that Abraham Lincoln, the greatest of all Democrats, spoke the truth when he said that God Almighty never made one people good enough to rule over another people.

If this is true when it has to do with the relationship of two small or neighboring peoples, it is even more so when one people, no matter how great we may admit their gifts to be, are put in the position of ruling over one-third of all the people of the earth.

THE CECILS—THE RULERS OF ENGLAND

The British Empire is so immense in size; so tremendous in influence in all other countries; so powerful in directing the course of other nations, that one rarely stops to think that in the last analysis, it is only another name for the governing group who dominate, control and direct its activities.

That group is only a handful in number and is made up of the families which, generation after generation, have supplied the rulers of England and through that, the rulers of the British Empire. The very heart of this group is the family of the Cecils which since Elizabeth's time has almost continuously been the dominant and controlling power of England. Who they are one can easily ascertain: as to how they secured the major part of their wealth and landed holdings, let us take the statement of David Lloyd George, Premier of England, some time since their dreaded foe, now, for the moment, their cherished spokesman. He said in the debate in the House of Commons on May 16th, 1912, of the Cecils: "What is the story? Look at the whole story of the pillage of the reformation. They robbed the Catholic

church; they robbed the monasteries; they robbed the altars; they robbed the almshouses; they robbed the poor and they robbed the dead."

Sometimes the Cecils rule in person; sometimes they rule through others. Sometimes they openly guide the English ship of state and at other times permit the helm to be turned over nominally to some one else—but actually, they are always in control. For hundreds of years, they have acted openly whenever what would be termed the reactionary forces were in control—whether called the Tories, Conservatives, Unionists or some other high sounding name which was only a cover for the rule of the privileged few over the mass of the needy many. At other times, when it suited the fashion of the hour to make the masses believe that the day of the special privileged class was waning, they controlled the foreign policy of England through those who were supposed to represent the masses. It is a fact that even English Liberals or Radicals cannot deny that the foreign policy of England remained practically the same under all administrations since England started to build up her Empire on all the continents and most of the islands of the seas. That policy has always been consistently—directly when they dared or could—indirectly when they were forced thus to act—to build up the English Navy and through it to gain and hold the control of the great highways of commerce that command the seas of the world. For generations past they have carried that policy to such an extreme as to insist that their navy must be equal at least to that of the two powers in the whole world that were nearest to them in strength and they have greatly boasted that they were determined to rule the seas.

THE ENGLISH DIPLOMATS

Profound students of human nature, the greatest master diplomats the world has ever seen, the statesmen of England realize the tremendous power of appearing always to be standing for the rights of humanity and because of that, even in their most selfish contests, they have claimed to be fighting against the forces of evil and arrayed on the side of civilization and justice. It matters not whether they were fighting against a Catholic King of Spain or a Protestant President of a South African Republic; an infidel Sultan of Turkey or a Pagan Emperor of China, they always availed themselves, so far as they could, of the good opinion of mankind—in general by insisting that they were fighting for right and for liberty and by putting their opponents in the position of appearing to lead the dark forces of evil and injustice.

The result has been, down through the centuries, that they have made for the English a reputation of being a liberty-loving people; a people who loved justice and favored progress. Although they have been put to it to explain how, no matter which side won the war they have gained in territory, in treasure, in power, they have managed by their extraordinary diplomatic skill, which amounts to genius, and by use of their weapons for making opinion through propaganda (long before others were awake to a realization of the power of such methods) to hold among great masses of sensible men in every country on earth, the name of standing for right in most of their quarrels. All the time they have been building up their Navy and adding to their sea borne commerce until, to-day England, though practically bankrupt and insolvent, is sanguine of recuperating her fortunes and regaining her financial power if she can retain for a couple of generations her supremacy and dominance on the ocean.

THE ENGLISH FLEET

To-day her fleet serves a two-fold purpose. In the first place it is the means by which she holds together the Empire which is scattered all over the world. In the second place—and of no less importance to her—it is the one weapon by which, if it be left in her possession, she hopes eventually to win the contest now going on between England and the United States for the commercial supremacy of the world.

We may as well face conditions as they are in the hard, practical, common sense way in which the statesmen of England face the situation. They are under no illusions about the contest before them, before they can become the complete masters of the world.

For three hundred years England has been following the policy laid down by Elizabeth of breaking down the nations which, through chance or choice, have become her commercial rivals. In that time, she has broken down the power of Spain, of Holland, of France and of Germany and for a time, because of the way in which American commerce was swept from the sea during the Civil War by privateers built and manned and armed in England, she hoped to have successfully disposed of America as an actual or possible commercial rival.

To-day,—and entirely as a consequence of our entry into the war, which in the last analysis we won,—for had it not been for the contribution of men, of money, of resources, made by us, the result of the war would have been entirely different,—to-day, the United States is the only first-class power left on earth that is solvent, that is self-supporting, that requires no assistance from without its own borders. But our industrial growth has been so vast and so rapid that we produce in eight months of the year as much as we can consume in a year. Because of this fact we are actually dependent upon the markets of the world to keep our factories running and our industrial population employed. There must come an inevitable contest between the United States and the British Empire for those markets and in that contest one or other of these countries must triumph and one or other of those countries must be vanquished.

THE INEVITABLE CONFLICT

The Marquis of Salisbury, the head of the House of Cecil, saw this plainly two generations ago, when he said that America and England were "rivals in every port and in every Court." It is attaching no blame to the statesmen of England and it is in no spirit of hostility to her people that one points out the fact that what the statesmen of England believe is necessary for her welfare is attained,—if possible, by the genius of her diplomats, if necessary, by the marshaled array of all the forces of her allies and of those parts of the Empire that produce fighting men. Thus has it been since the days of Henry the Eighth and his virgin daughter, Queen Bess. Thus will it be so long as the genius of the Cecils and their associates, either by skill or by force, can bring success to the English side.

This is no new game with the statesmen of England and there is very little left for them to learn from bitter experience. This world war, just brought to a successful end by America's contribution to it, is not without its precedents in the long history of British Imperialism. Time after time she has struggled for great prizes in all parts of the world and in the main, no matter who bled, or who paid, England gained in power. Close as she came to colossal defeat and absolute destruction in the recent war; certain as was her annihilation but for the assistance of America;—(which her spokesmen like Sir Douglas

Haig are beginning now to minimize and ignore)—she came just as close one hundred years ago when England was pitted against the genius of that unmatched man—Napoleon Bonaparte—and if it had not been for the assistance then given to England in the last battle by her cousins, the Germans, England would have gone down to inevitable defeat and the British Empire, instead of being one of the two remaining Empires on earth, would have then vanished as a dream, as have the mighty Empires that in this last war were smashed into impotent parts.

ENGLAND'S CONTROL OF THE SEAS—WHAT IT MEANS TO HER

Weighted down with debt at the end of the Napoleonic crisis—a debt relatively almost as great as the present debt—British statesmen managed to pull their country through because of their hold upon and of their mastery of the seas. Through that mastery they practically drove from the ocean every country that did not submit to their control, and took to themselves the lion's share of the profit made in the carrying trade of the world.

England when compared with the great lands of the earth is a little country of 50,000 square miles. Her ships carry to her the raw material of all the lands of the earth in order that they may be manufactured by her skilled artisans, and by her industrial classes into articles in demand by the rest of mankind.

These ships, freighted with these materials, carried to England from all parts of the earth, carry back the manufactured articles from England, sold to the people of these countries—articles manufactured out of the materials they had produced—and turned back to them after England has made a large profit in handling, manufacturing and selling the articles. In that way, at the expense of all the rest of the world, England has accumulated treasures and gained power and strength in every corner of the globe.

She became not only the world's work shop but the world's banker. There from every land went those who sought assistance in the development of countries, in the building up of industries, in the construction of railroads, in executing public works, in improving in any way the material conditions of life. This was all a source of immense profit to England and because of it she has been able to make in a hundred ways the profit of the honest broker, and amass in a hundred ways still more wealth, still greater power.

She brooked no opposition where it could be overcome, but if other countries prospered and grew she looked with complacency on their growth so long as she controlled the seas, always secure in the thought that their growth necessarily contributed to her wealth and added to her power.

ENGLAND IN THE CIVIL WAR

For a decade in the middle of the last century, England was greatly worried over the extraordinary progress made by the American merchant marine. She viewed with alarm the growth in size and in number of our clipper ships which carried American freight and American commerce to every port on the earth.

When the unfortunate division arose between the North and the South in the sixties, England promptly hastened to the assistance of the Confederacy and with the privateers built and armed by her, succeeded in driving the American mercantile marine from the seas, with great consequent profit to herself. It has been estimated that for fifty

years after the Civil War, England made on an average a profit of three hundred million dollars per year out of carrying the ocean borne commerce of America.

Is it any wonder that she did her best to cause the defeat of the United States during the war of the Rebellion and to drive from the seas the Flag of the nation that had become a successful rival throughout the world?

ENGLAND AND THE CONTINENT

England looked with complacency upon the industrial progress and growth of Germany until that growth sought to question the naval supremacy of England. From the hour that Germany was able to build ships which crossed the Atlantic and came into the New York Harbor in less time than British ships could come, many thoughtful observers believed that the doom of Germany was sealed. The Germans might with safety build up their military power on the continent so far as England was concerned, without protest or interference, but the moment in which Germany invaded England's chosen field, that moment Germany had to contend against the diplomatic skill which had never been beaten, the power of bringing about a coalition that had rarely if ever been exercised in vain.

Many students of history believe that Napoleon could have mastered Europe with the assent or support of England if he had not crossed to Africa and had not threatened India and the British Asiatic dominions.

In the same way modern Germany came into existence with the full consent of England, tore Alsace-Lorraine from France; Schleswig from Denmark, and placed an indemnity of five billion francs upon the beaten France amid the admiring plaudits of the English governing classes. Germany might have ruled the continent to her heart's content, as an ally of England, if she had not the audacity or folly to attempt to supplant England on the seas and rend from her weakening hand the trident of Neptune.

A despoiled Poland might writhe for one hundred and fifty years under the conquering heel of a Hohenzollern without a protest from England, but any attempted interference in the profits and the power that came from the control of the seas, meant that Germany in this generation, like Spain, like Holland, like France in other days, must fight for her existence. But that is another story.

AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL GROWTH AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

To-day we of America are interested in problems that are to affect the future of mankind. We have here in our country a population of 110 million people and so great has been our industrial growth that we produce in less than eight months of every year, all that we can possibly consume in the entire year. For four months of each year we are dependent upon the markets of the world to find a sale for our surplus products in order that our people may be kept constantly at work. To reach these markets it is a physical necessity to cross the oceans of the earth. To reach them now we have the mercantile fleet that was brought into existence by the exigencies of the war. This will enable us to carry our raw materials and manufactured products into every corner of the globe. Under our own Flag, we may thus reach in every land at their ports of entry, every purchaser who seeks such materials as we have for sale.

In doing this, we must come into competition with Englishmen already there and we must seek, in friendly rivalry, to take from them

the trade which is already theirs or share with them the trade which Germany had and lost as one of the results of the war.

Is it human nature that England should long look with equanimity upon such competition or that such rivalry should long continue to be of a friendly nature? Of course so long as Englishmen are filled with admiration for the country that saved the Empire from annihilation and themselves from complete ruin, they will, in the main (for in many individual cases the Englishman is a likeable fellow), be swayed by a sense of gratitude for those who saved them, and will bear without protest, the natural strain which will come to their pockets through having to divide a market which they believe should be entirely their own.

But when that recollection fades, as shortly it will—and when it shall be replaced, under the teachings of Sir Douglas Haig and other spokesmen for England, with the idea that it was England herself that won the war—as her historians have taught in every language that it was Wellington and not Blücher who won the Battle of Waterloo—the English trader will look with ever increasing bitterness on the inroads into his special field, made by the enterprising American. He will then demand that American trade shall go the way of Spanish, Dutch, French and German trade and leave the field without competition or lessened profits to the English trader to whom, in his opinion, it properly belongs. This demand will grow insistently as time goes on and as the experience of the American exporter and the growing necessity for America to find a market abroad will make more keen the competition between those who are supplying goods to foreign markets.

THE EMPIRE'S OUTLOOK

It will grow stronger as England's necessities grow. Her indebtedness to-day is so great that she is practically insolvent. She is wholly so in the sense that if she were required to pay in cash her outstanding indebtedness, she would be unable to do so. Wonderful as has been her triumph in seizing for herself advantages of all kinds at the end of this war; marvelous as was her escape from destruction during the war, she is yet confronted with difficulties in a hundred forms.

In every one of her colonies there is great dissatisfaction and growing unrest. The war has imposed a colossal debt under which the colonies stagger. Unique as has been the censorship which she placed upon the news of the world, so that anything unpleasant to her, happening in any quarter of the globe might not be made known, we are still made aware of the great labor and industrial discontent and unrest in Australia and in Canada. In spite of all she has been able to do in the control of the cables and the mails, the staggering stories of the inhumanities of the conditions of life in India, where many millions of people have been swept away by hardship and disease, at last have reached and appalled the world. The savage cruelties exercised by her garrison in Egypt upon those who believed in the application of the Wilsonian doctrine of self-determination to the people of that country, are arousing attention even among her friends. By her entire disregard of her pledged word and her utter contempt for liberty and the rights of the people in the case of Ireland she has shocked the conscience and aroused the slumbering hostility to her of the great mass of the people of America.

Former Chief Justice Hertzog and his associates sent as delegates to Paris by the Afrianders of South Africa to demand the application of self-determination to the people of the former Republics have returned unheard and unsatisfied to lay their report before the liberty loving peoples of these countries. Nowhere in the wide confines of the

Empire outside of England can an observer find that contentment, peace and progress which it is the British boast that all who dwell therein possess.

THE ENGLISH AT HOME

Let us look briefly at the situation in Great Britain itself. There the masters of the Empire, the small group who have directly or indirectly in their hands the power and wealth which go with government, find themselves for the first time in their history confronted by a conjunction of mighty forces that are considering not the redress of more or less heavy grievances, but the wiping out of the present caste system of government with all its traditions and its differing classes and replace it by the rule of an aroused and aggressive proletariat.

This is the nightmare that mars the hitherto pleasant existence of the Cecils and the Balfours and their assistants, the Georges, the Asquiths, the Greys, the Smiths and the Carsons. This is the menace, the danger and nearness of which may for a brief time deter the governing classes from using their sea power to prevent America from reaching the markets of the world in order to keep them, as they believe they should be kept, entirely for England.

The three great Unions of Great Britain—the Miners, the Railway Men and the Transport Workers, are now demanding the nationalization of all the coal mines of Great Britain, and Robert Smilie, their extraordinary leader, said at the recent Trades' Congress in Glasgow, that this was not intended to be the end of the program, but only a step in the march to take over all forms of industrial activities.

The war carried on by the leaders of the English governing classes has aroused the British masses to a realization of their power and to the full measure of what they believe to be the necessities of the hour. They are no longer satisfied to be the hewers of wood and the drawers of water for the privileged few, but are now insistent upon having not alone some say in what is going on, but if they have their way—upon assuming entire control of the activities of their country.

Jack Cade may have been the precursor of Robert Smilie in demanding that the people should govern, but the fate which overtook him is not likely to be Smilie's, who to-day stands much more chance of being Premier of England than he does of following Jack Cade to the scaffold. The three great Unions acting in concert in the month of March last, compelled, with the intervention of the government, a settlement of their demands by the capitalists. This will require the payment annually of an additional five hundred millions to the industrial workers of Great Britain. Out of whose pockets is this immense sum to come? Not out of the pockets of the capitalists of England unless the hand of the diplomat of England has lost its cunning.

If industrial peace can be brought to Great Britain for a generation by this and similar concessions, repeated if necessary time after time, the capitalists of England will look, as in the past they have not looked in vain, to have the burden taken from their shoulders and placed on those who are the competitors of England or who may be compelled to pay her toll for the freight going over the seas that God Almighty intended should be for the use of all mankind.

ENGLISH COAL

With the additional price placed upon the production of coal by the increase the miners have wrung from the coal owners, the English

coal is driven from the markets of the world, unless it is to be kept there by England's control of the carrying trade of the world.

English coal, since England became the work shop of the world, has been used by her to build up her power in many ways—but in no way more successfully than as an article of export in order to make up bulk with her manufactured articles—manufactured from the raw materials imported to England from every quarter of the globe.

Ships which enter her ports laden to the gunwales with raw material needed to keep her factories working and her people employed, would have gone back loaded very lightly with the smaller bulk of manufactured commodities if it were not that she could make up the difference in bulk in British coal. This can no longer compete with American and other coals to advantage as it formerly did, and England in order to keep control of the world markets must continue to export coal. This she can do only by controlling the ships which ply the seven seas and carry on the commerce between the different races of mankind. When we consider that the economic unrest and industrial discontent are growing by leaps and bounds and the power of her organized groups of workers is growing apace; that the people are utterly dissatisfied with existing conditions and the tremendous burden of debt which the war imposed—and have a growing realization of their importance to England coming to them with every succeeding concession made to them—we find the evidence that trouble for the governing classes in England is only beginning.

When to this is added the dissatisfaction among her allies with the way in which, as usual, England has seized the lion's share of the spoils of war; the ever increasing distrust of her fairness by the nations which were neutral in the recent war—nations which while small in area are big in intelligence and power to make opinion throughout the world—it is evident that it will require all the famed genius of English diplomats to keep England afloat as a going concern unless she can make some sort of a deal that shall put at her command the practically limitless resources of America.

THE ENGLISH ATTEMPT TO CONTROL AMERICA

The ingenious Cecil and the Slim Smuts felt that they had found the needed help in the British plan of a League of Nations which was adopted by Mr. Wilson and which they felt would be swallowed by the Senate of the United States as easily and enthusiastically as it was by the American Representatives at the Peace Conference. If that plan had been adopted, as England fondly hoped it would be, the governing classes of England could look with entire satisfaction upon the future. They would have harnessed to their chariot wheels the invincible might of America. They would have been guaranteed for all time in possession of all their stolen loot, by the liberty loving people of America. The lands, with all their wealth, which they stole from their possessors throughout the length and breadth of the world, would continue indefinitely to be theirs, through the power of America.

The vantage points gained by the closing of the great seas would continue to be England's. Gibraltar torn from Spain; Malta rent from France; Suez stolen from Egypt and with France euchered out of her half of the loot; Aden taken from Arabia—all the vantage points all round the globe—all their coaling stations; their naval stations, Esquimaux, Halifax, Bermuda—aimed at the heart of America; England's control of the seas, and through it her over-lordship of the world would have been hers, humanly speaking forever, not in spite of America, but with the connivance, assent and guarantee of America. No more colossal scheme of aggrandizement has ever been dreamed of in the

history of mankind. No more gigantic bunco game was ever thought of than this effort, in the name of peace, to make a permanent condition of the hideous system of conquest, of robbery, of injustice which is called the British Empire. But the England which had its way at Paris and which hoped to beguile and cajole the Senate of the United States has had a rude awakening. The representatives of America who were willing to give to the British Empire six votes in a proposed League to the one vote given to these United States, the mightiest nation of freemen in the world to-day, seemed to have reckoned without their host. It is probable that hereafter, any one who represents America in any diplomatic conference will see to it as a matter of self-interest, if not as a matter of self-respect or love of country, that there shall never be laid for ratification before the representatives of a proud and self-respecting people, any plan that would deprive America of her rights, while assuring to England the aid and assistance she so vitally needs and the necessity for which is evidenced by her request for a guarantee.

ENGLAND IN DESPERATE SITUATION

The diplomats of England will be put to it to keep the Empire a going concern, with difficulties mounting for it in every quarter of the globe; with an awakened and hostile Old World; with former allies and opponents both looking to undo the work of the past; ready, if compelled to do so, to undersell the British producer; with the British producer harrassed by having to give larger wages to those who turn out his products and compelled to compete at once with the solvent United States of America and the insolvent countries of Continental Europe.

The English have only the proverbial Hobson's choice in the matter. On the Continent they are confronted by economic rivals that are impoverished in wealth and are broken in power but which have added to the habits of industry and economy, acquired through generations, the sharp spur of dire necessity. We hear of a revived industrial Germanic world where the industrial leaders retain their organizing capacity and the industrial workers are seeking not chances to shirk, but chances to work; not how few, but how many, hours they may labor; not how little, but how much, they may produce. Contrast that with conditions in England and then looking to the West contemplate with the Englishman the prospect of having to compete with an America of unlimited resources and of incalculable power. Is it any wonder if the English feel that they must avail themselves of all their advantages if they are to survive not to speak of, if they are to rule the world?

The English statesman must secure for his traders and merchants and manufacturers a certainty of a market for their output. How can he do that except by keeping the United States of America—the only solvent competitor of England—out of the market? Give him the credit of believing that he will do this by fair means if he can. Credit also the fact that if he can persuade the American exporter to remain outside the markets of the British Empire, persuade him he will. If he can cajole him to do so, cajole him he will, and so of all the markets in the world in which he is obliged to compete with the United States. But if he cannot persuade or cajole or flatter him to remain outside or give up the market entirely—and has only the means of coercion left—the means by which the Spanish, Dutch, French and German traders were made to loosen their grip upon the markets sought by England, then coerce him he must in order to save himself from revolution at home and destruction abroad.

If as an alternative of internal revolution he is required to lay aside his gratitude—forget that America saved him—in order to fight with America, who will believe that for one moment he will hesitate at the choice thus presented?

If the American Mercantile Marine which suddenly came into existence cannot be otherwise disposed of, what is there in the history of English statesmen to lead any student of history to believe that they will hesitate to use the mighty and potent weapon which is in their hands, in order to sweep it from the seas and thus free England from her difficulties?

Why did these able diplomats of England insist that the question of the freedom of the seas should not be even discussed at the Paris Conference unless they realized its vital importance to England? Of what use is the fleet unless it be for the purpose of making America bend the knee as all other commercial competitors have been compelled to bend it?

THE ENGLISH NAVY

Surely no one will believe that England intends to use her Navy against a broken Russia or the scattered fragments of the Central Empires? It is not required against the small neutral nations of Europe, nor against the comparatively weak Republics of South America. It is not needed to put Italy in its place or to be used against France which Clemenceau and Viviani and their associates have turned into a continental vassal of England. It is not required against the smaller governments set up throughout Europe largely as buffer states for France; against an Africa turned largely into a British continent; a continental Asia largely likewise turned into a British colony. A Canada and an Australia many thousands of miles away from England do not require it except as an instrument to keep them in order.

There are but two countries which now loom up as serious rivals in power to the British Empire—Japan—the Island Empire and sole survivor with England of all the Empires which so recently encircled the globe—and the United States.

Against which is it likely to be used? Against Japan, the close ally of England, which has just tremendously increased its power with England and Wilson's assent, and which is a commercial rival of England only in a small way, in spite of its taking over the silk and cotton business to such an astonishing extent, lacking, until Shantung was presented to it, the coal and iron necessary to any hope of becoming a serious economic rival of England—or against these United States of America?

The only serious rival of England economically in the future, is the country whose system of government was founded as a protest against the tyranny of England and which has set the tune by which liberty-loving people have marched since the Declaration of Independence was made by Thomas Jefferson and his associates in 1776. That rival is America, which, since its beginning has been an object always of distrust and generally of hatred upon the part of England—America which gained her independence from England only after seven years of bitter warfare, during which time England resorted to all the cruelties and barbarities which she charged against her enemies in the late war.

America in 1812 fought for the freedom of the seas. America maintained then the freedom of the seas—American statesmen taught that the seas belonged to man and not to nations. America has no territorial ambitions to be satisfied at the expense of any other nation on earth—America whose existence is a mark of reproach to all the monarchical governments of the world, is the menace to the practical

statesmen of England which must be overthrown if England is to continue to control the markets of the world.

THE ENGLISH VIEW OF AMERICA

Deep in their hearts the English statesmen are under no illusion as to America's point of view. They know that the vast majority of the people of this country sincerely believe in liberty and freedom for all mankind; that they are not alone strict adherents of a Republican form of government but are filled with the thought that eventually all mankind shall share in the blessings which come with the ordered liberty of a Republic. They know that a vast majority of the people of America sympathize with every curtailment of special privilege in favor of the rights of the plain people of England. They know that such ideals are the magnet which has drawn such unprecedented growth and prosperity to these United States of America and that all this is having its effect not alone upon the people of Australia, of South Africa, of Canada, of New Zealand, and upon the down-trodden millions of India, of Egypt and the people of the scattered countries of Asia and Africa upon which the English governing classes have set their heel, but upon the masses of the people of England itself. They know above all things that deep in the American breast there burns a fire of sympathy for the people of Ireland and that America will never be satisfied until England, whether by choice or compulsion, leaves the shores of Ireland and permits her to resume her place among the independent nations of the earth.

They know all this and they know that with the increasing population of our country and with the growing demands of our people for better living conditions, more and more will our industrial development require that we find markets abroad for the output of our factories and the product of our fields. Seeing the growth of the American Mercantile Marine, which they cannot control, they must inevitably come to the conclusion that it should be destroyed while there is yet time and before our fleet has reached the point where neither the British fleet nor any combination England may be able to make will be able to destroy it.

ENGLAND'S NECESSITIES

Just as other statesmen of England in their day required the Spanish, Dutch, French, Danish and German fleets to be destroyed and the commerce of these peoples swept from the seas, so to-day the traditions of England will justify the thought that when her interests require that the fleet of America shall be destroyed, and American commerce again swept from the seas, England will attempt to destroy it.

Many men will refuse to believe that England would adopt such a course of action. Many even of our own statesmen, beguiled by the honeyed phrases of English writers and spokesmen, will feel that it is an outrage to question the good faith of England or to believe that for her own selfish interest, England would forget the debt of gratitude she owes to America who has so recently saved her. But men worthy to be called statesmen remember that it is by the past we judge nations as we judge men. There is no such thing as gratitude among those who govern states, and England would not hesitate to do in the 20th Century whatever her necessities might require her to do. The England that in 1870 stood by and applauded the seizure of Alsace-Lorraine by Bismarck and then saw it made one of the causes of war in 1914 would not hesitate in the 20th Century to do what its interests required it to do. The England which burned the Capitol of our country in 1813 and burned Annapolis and Buffalo in the same war; the England which over-

threw the little Republics of South Africa in order to get possession of the diamond and gold mines of those countries would not hesitate now to do what its governing class felt necessary for their interest.

If there be a new England as a result of the war, if those who judge by the past judge her wrongly, let her set herself right with a doubting mankind by agreeing to the disarmament of the fleet and its reduction in size to a point where it will suffice for the defense of England against any likely or unlikely invasion, and where it will cease to be a menace to the liberty of mankind.

The last thing that Americans want to see is another great war. They won the last war in order to put a stop, if possible, to all future wars, and their sound common sense and keen judgment teach them that the way to stop wars is to put it out of the power of any nation or small groups of nations to dominate the world. The possession of such power as the English Navy gives is a dreadful temptation to use it. Let it be destroyed now that it can exist only for the purpose of offensive war—now that its existence can no longer reasonably or honestly be defended, on the ground that it is to be used as a defense against other great navies.

Such action on the part of the governing class in England will do more for them than a thousand reiterated protestations of their devotion to peace. Actions speak louder than words. An England voluntarily setting aside her control of the seas, means an England mindful of the rights of others, instead of an England insistent upon wronging all other nations.

It has just been arranged that she will not pay the interest upon part of her public debt which is held abroad—the interest is to be added to the capital—and yet the Chancellor of her Exchequer asks for the stupendous sum of \$700,000,000 to defray her naval charges for the next year. The reduction of her navy to a defensive point would remove this fearful load from the backs of her already heavily burdened people and go a long way towards retaining her credit which is shaken as never before. More than all it would remove from the minds of observant men of all races the fixed idea that England seeks and intends to have absolute world power.

If there is a new England let her remove her army of occupation from Ireland.

Her statesmen realize more than ever that America has been aroused to see that England really holds Ireland not alone through hostility to her people; not because they feel that the people of Ireland can never forgive the wrongs of the past; not even because of the great profit, amounting to more than \$200,000,000 last year, that the English derive from their hold upon Ireland, but because the physical control of Ireland is necessary to the continued existence of British Imperialism. As George Washington well said there would be no Irish question if Ireland were some hundreds of miles distant from England. Its very proximity—its position between England and the oceans of the world makes its control vital to England in her control of the seas. The world now realizes the position of Ireland and that its independence will mean a great contribution to the independence of Europe in that it will deprive England of her present absolute control of all the waters that approach Western and Northern Europe. Ireland is the outpost of Europe in the Northern Atlantic and should be controlled by people friendly to all of Europe and not to England alone.

England whose shores cannot be approached except by passing Ireland will be shorn of much power and be no longer a menace to the rest of the world if a free and independent Ireland, inhabited by a normal population of eighteen or twenty million people, on terms of amity and concord with all nations—a special ally or bitter foe of no

other country—controls the Western approaches to Europe. It will make for the freedom of the seas and for free and unrestricted trading among all nations, as will no other single contribution that can be made. Think what it will mean to the commerce of America—not alone Irish commerce, freed for the first time in centuries from English control, thrown open to the markets of the world and growing by leaps and bounds; not alone the population of Ireland increasing to normal size, but its value as a point of debarkation and distribution for American commerce with all the countries of Europe.

Out of the chaos that is now Europe, must come in due time again, the prosperity and commercial activity which go with the return of ordered liberty. Out of the chaos which now exists must come with the return of order, unnumbered demands for the American commodities which the devastated sections of Europe will require for reconstruction. With the return of a reign of law and order among three hundred millions of civilized people will come renewed commercial intercourse on a large scale, with America.

We must seek some points of distribution for such commerce. Where can we so well find them as in Ireland, with its position of comparative proximity to America; its unrivaled harbors; its sympathetic people; its ideal location for sending goods in every direction to the different parts of Europe? Add to all this that it is in no sense our rival as a manufacturing nation, as are England, Belgium, Holland, France, as was and will be again, Germany. Add to that that its harbors are not crowded with shipping as are those of England. They are not dotted with piers and wharves and quays that belong to our competitors and that will, if we use English or Dutch or Belgium harbors, compel us to load and unload after the ships of our rivals shall have loaded and unloaded, or in out of the way places under difficulties and in some places without needed security.

THE BRITISH NAVY A MENACE TO AMERICA

English statesmen are always ready with excuses to explain the situation in their own interest and to show how a competitor is at fault, but they cannot now explain the facts that the continued existence of the British Navy is a menace only to America, and that it is to continue to exist only on the ground that use will be found for it in serving the interests of England.

Its upkeep is a tremendous charge upon the impoverished masses of Great Britain. That can only be excused on the ground that it is to be used in their interests in the immediate future and it can be used only as a weapon of defense or of offense. It cannot be any longer alleged with any probability of belief that it is to be used for the defense of Great Britain, for no one now threatens England with invasion. No one now threatens to shut off the food supply of England, for which she is dependent upon the outer world for more than forty weeks in every year. No longer can she point to the navies of Russia, or Germany as a menace only to be met by her gigantic navy. Those fleets have actually ceased to exist so far as they have not been annexed to the British Navy. The only navies left are those of America, of Japan, and of France. The others are negligible. Only very timorous statesmen of England will fear France, their old rival, whom the subservient and stupid policies of Clemenceau and his associates have made into a broken vassal of England upon the Continent.

Japan, the pagan Empire, with which the ruling classes of England choose to ally her against all the white races of the world, has a fleet which is no longer a menace to any country save America. Japan has voluntarily put herself into a position where she is tied

by the closest kind of an alliance with England. There remains America alone.

IS ENGLAND SINCERE?

Some of the great liberals of England—of whom there are a few in every generation—speak of her desire to lead in a movement for world disarmament. They are splendid special pleaders for her but they never have been able to influence her actions, eloquently as they asserted that they spoke of her aspirations. Her Morleys and Brights and Massinghams are useful for ornaments and for foreign effect, but they have not governed England or swayed her actions. Let her now show that they really speak for her—let her disarm, not her Army, for that is comparatively negligible, but her Navy, which is, humanly speaking, all powerful. If she does this, she will prove that the leopard can change his spots. If she does not, then let our statesmen awaken and beware, lest Imperial England, running true to form, shall seek for permanent world domination by the destruction of the American fleet just as she temporarily has got it by the destruction of all her erstwhile competitors and rivals.

With general disarmament the future of American liberty is secure. England urged the peace loving people of America to go into the war on the theory that they were going to bring the right of self-determination and the application of the principles of democracy to all the nations of the earth. How rude has been our awakening?

The spokesmen of England have accused us of many things in the past—not alone her diplomats, her generals and her admirals, but her novelists and poets, but no one of them has yet the distinction of asserting that we were fighting for democracy in order to overthrow her government, or take away any of her wealth. That fact should dispose of any apprehension that the British Navy must continue to exist for the defense of England as against us and leaves it no possible use except as a weapon of offense against a rival of England.

Surely it cannot be needed against the broken remnants of Russia or the Central Empires, the little neutrals, her vassal France, or the vassals of France. It cannot be that they distrust England's close ally, Japan. It leaves us back where we started. The British Navy can only be used as a weapon of offense against the navy and commerce of the sole remaining solvent and serious economic rival of England, to wit, the United States of America.

England owes America billions of dollars. England has lost to America, the financial leadership of the world. England by the destruction of America would regain the financial leadership and rid herself, as the victorious opponent, of her debt to America.

English statesmen can see nothing in the continued growth of America except the strengthening of England's great economic rival. They, to their credit be it said, never work in the interest of any country but England. These men who now rule the world, as they believe, know that with the elimination of America they could securely hold the world for centuries.

Our destruction would mean the overthrow of the greatest experiment in democracy that the world has ever known. It would throw back the world, England included, into the hands of the special privileged and ruling few. In every country of the world today the masses are raising their heads against the classes, insisting that government must exist in the future only for the welfare of all—and not for the exploitation of the many by the chosen few. The destruction of the greatest experiment in democracy as founded in America would mean the renaissance of special privilege; the triumph of monarchical institu-

tions. It would be a greater set back to the world than was the destruction of Rome and mankind again would be compelled to struggle for centuries before it could lift up its head to bring liberty and freedom to any quarter of the globe.

The struggle between America and the British Empire is inevitable. It has already begun. It has entered upon its economic stage, driven by the stress of circumstances which no group of statesmen or philosophers can control. The two countries are driven to seek the same markets; to strive for the same trade in order that their people may live in comfort. The contest in its peaceful stage could be prolonged, but not avoided, if some division of the markets could be made, if some arrangement whereby there would be business enough for all were possible. But such a condition exists only in the dreams of the philosophers, not in the hard matter of fact concrete conditions of every day life.

THE CONTEST IS HERE

The struggle is not to come, it has already been entered upon. England has already shut us out from her own markets for many articles and commodities which we produce. In every one of her colonies, England has a school of politicians who are openly urging closer trade relations with the mother country, at the expense of her rivals. She controls to-day, among other things, the rubber and wool of the world. She is seeking control of the oil fields upon which depends the future of transportation. Through her control of the cables and her system of trade permits and passports she has already shut out the American trader for all practical purposes from many of the markets of the world. She is only as yet feeling her way, intent upon going at present as far as she is permitted to go on and in the end as far as her power will enable her to go. She has filled our country with her exchange editors, lecturers, ministers, professors and propagandists in order to flatter and cajole us and put the people off their guard. This is no new devise for her. She strives to weaken and to destroy, as enemies of America, those here who are her opponents and who cannot be cajoled or coerced into taking her point of view of every question that is to her interest. She is well served here not only by recent importations and by her casual visitors to our shores, but by her Carnegie Fund group and those of similar ilk, by the descendants of the Tories who honestly believe that the United States should never have been separated from England and who would rejoice to see it again united with the British Empire.

A grave crisis confronts the statesmen of our country.

No greater problem has ever addressed itself to the courage and foresight and statesmanship of any group of elected freemen.

We stand at the parting of the ways. After years of bloody war which destroyed millions of lives and billions of treasure, the hopes of mankind turned to the spokesmen of our country who appeared in Paris, to have them end war, destroy tyranny and bring liberty to all the oppressed peoples of the earth. The outcome of that eventful conference is one of the outstanding failures of history. The marshalled forces of special privilege have once again triumphed and to them that had, has been given. The fly has walked into the parlor of the spider. The ingenious novice has learned the lesson of the ages that the amateur must bow to the skill of the professional and the amiable Wilson has succumbed to the wiles and guile of the artful Lloyd George, and to the grim arbitrariness of the practical Clemenceau. But with the art of the experienced politician, he has presented to the world the shadow of his performance as if it were the substance of his promise

and has tried to coerce the Senate to adopt without amendment, or even examination, the British prepared League of Nations which would give to England, under another name, the super-sovereignty of the world, and reduce us to a position of humiliating subservience that would destroy our independence and exhaust our power.

Our country hailed a year ago as the moral leader of the world, with friends on all sides, is now scoffed at as a hypocrite and looked upon by many of the Nations of the Old World as an enemy. We, who won the war and destroyed Militarism are now in danger of setting up the rule of Navalism so as to again enthrone might as the arbiter of all disputed questions among the Nations.

Only the Senate can prevent this great wrong and restore our country to the proud position it held so short a time ago. The Senate is now the bulwark of America's liberty, and the hope of suffering humanity. If it falters in its duty to safeguard the rights and sovereignty of our country, America will fall as have fallen mighty democracies in the past. If it lives up to its high traditions and considers above all things the interests of America, it will preserve our country, save human liberty and destroy, with injury to none who seek liberty, the grim curse of Navalism which hangs like a heavy cloud over the fortunes of mankind.

Mighty forces are working from without and within to swing America away from her old moorings; to take her away from her moral leadership of mankind and to subordinate her to the position of a satellite swinging around the British Empire. Mighty are these forces; numerous are their weapons; potent are their agents; plausible are their arguments; but mightier still is the love of liberty among the great mass of the plain people of our country and in the end, bitter as may be the struggle, dark as may seem the way, the forces of justice and right will triumph and America will be preserved from these attacks as she has been from those which seemed about to overwhelm her in the past—preserved to remain a Beacon light for those who seek liberty and value it as the greatest gift which a Beneficent Creator has bestowed upon mankind. America will triumph in the end in any contest which the British ruling class may force upon her, but it would be a blessing to all mankind, and to no portion of it greater than to the masses of England, if the United States Senators, the statesmen who control in the last analysis the destiny of America and through that largely the destiny of the world, should bring about by the defeat of the British proposed League of Nations, an International Conference which will consider as its first and most important problem the real freedom of the seas and by insisting upon naval disarmament, will destroy Navalism—twin brother of Militarism—and thus bring permanent peace to all the nations of the earth.

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